

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-08  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5243

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 11652: N/A

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TAGS: ILO

SUBJECT: STRUCTURAL REFORM OF ILO GOVERNING BODY

AMB VANDEN HEUVEL'S STATEMENT AT ILO-IMEC MEETING

JANUARY 25, 1978

REF: STATE 18356

1. FOLLOWING IS AMBASSADOR VANDEN HEUVEL'S STATEMENT AT ILO-IMEC MEETING JANUARY 25, 1978. POSTS MAY WISH TO DRAW ON THIS FOR DISCUSSIONS IN CAPITALS.

2. BEGIN STATEMENT. THE US IS NOT A MEMBER OF THE ILO AND ITS RETURN TO MEMBERSHIP, ALTHOUGH HOPED FOR BY MANY AMONG THE AMERICAN TRIPARTITE PARTNERS, IS NOT PREDICTABLE. MUCH WILL DEPEND UPON THE ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH WE FIND OURSELVES AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE. AND HERE I WOULD SAY FRANKLY THAT A SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT WOULD BE ACCEPTANCE BY THE CONFERENCE OF THE FINDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS ON THE APPLICATION OF CONVENTIONS, ESPECIALLY IF THESE FINDINGS WERE TO INCORPORATE THE CONCERNS EXPRESSED IN THE FINDINGS OF THE 1977 COMMITTEE IN ITS REPORT WHICH WAS NOT ACCEPTED. WE WILL BE INFLUENCED BY THE HANDLING OF THE MIDDLE EAST QUESTIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF DUE PROCESS. AND IT IS ONLY FAIR TO SAY THAT WE WILL BE SIGNIFICANTLY INFLUENCED BY THE OUTCOME OF THE DISCUSSIONS ON STRUCTURE IN ACHIEVING A SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF THE QUESTIONS RELATING NOT ALONE TO ARTICLES 7 AND 36 BUT ARTICLE 17 AND OTHER ISSUES AS WELL. IN THIS CONTEXT, I AM PARTICULARLY GRATEFUL FOR THE INVITATION TO ATTEND THIS MEETING. THE IMEC NATIONS REPRESENT THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL VALUES WHICH CREATED THE ILO AND WHICH HOLD THE PROSPECT FOR ITS BEING AN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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IMPORTANT FACTOR IN ASSISTING THE WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WORLD. IN PART, IT IS BECAUSE OF PROFOUND CONCERN THAT THE IMEC STRENGTH IN ILO WAS ERODING AND BEING UNDERMINED UNFAIRLY THAT THE US CHOSE TO WITHDRAW AS A MEMBER. THE PRESENT DISCUSSION OF RESTRUCTURING THE ILO GIVES ALL OF US OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW ONCE MORE THE BASIC DIRECTIONS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE ORGANIZATION.

2. IF ONLY NUMBERS ARE TO CONTROL THE DECISIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, THEN LET US ADMIT FROM THE OUTSET THAT THE IMEC NATIONS ARE AN ISOLATED MINORITY. THE ILO HAS 136 MEMBER STATES. THERE ARE 21 NATIONS IDENTIFIED AS INDUSTRIAL MARKET ECONOMY COUNTRIES. THE DEVELOPMENT OF VOTING BLOCS MAKES THE HANDICAP OF NUMBERS EVEN MORE SEVERE. THE GROUP 77 COUNT 114 COUNTRIES AS SUBJECT TO ITS VOTING DISCIPLINE. MY COUNTRY, EACH OF OUR COUNTRIES, AND ALL OF US AS AN IMEC GROUP, MAINTAIN CLOSE AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH MANY OF THE G-77 MEMBERS. WE ALSO KNOW THAT THERE ARE DISAGREEMENTS AND STRESSES AMONG THE G-77 AND THAT THE INTERESTS OF ITS MEMBERS ARE SOMETIMES IN CONFLICT, JUST AS IMEC INTERESTS ARE SOMETIMES IN

CONFLICT. BUT INCREASINGLY IN THE UN FRAMEWORK IT IS  
NOT THE VOICE OF NATIONS THAT WE HEAR BUT THE ECHO OF  
BLOC VIEWPOINTS WHICH SOMETIMES, AS IN THE JUNE, 1977  
ILO CONFERENCE, REFLECT RADICAL, ANTI-WESTERN ATTITUDES  
AND NOT THE TRUE ATTITUDES OF THE PLENARY MEMBERSHIP.  
3. IT CAN BE SAID THAT VOTING BLOCS WITH BOTH THEIR  
STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES ARE THE POLITICAL REALITY. FOR  
THE PURPOSES OF OUR DISCUSSION, LET US ACCEPT THAT  
CONCLUSION. IT BECOMES EVEN MORE IMPORTANT THEN TO  
REJECT SIMPLE NUMBERS AS THE DECISIVE FACTOR IN  
INTERNATIONAL FORA. IN MOST INTERNATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS,  
THIS HAS BEEN UNDERSTOOD AND CONSENSUS DECISION-MAKING  
HAS EMERGED WHICH HAS ESTABLISHED AN EQUILIBRIUM OF POWER

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THAT HAS ENABLED THE UN AND ITS AGENCIES TO PLAY A  
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FORMIDABLE ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS.

4. IN THE ILO THAT CONSENSUS MUST INCLUDE AN APPROPRIATE  
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE POPULATIONS OF COUNTRIES AND  
THEIR FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF THE ORGANIZATION, AS WELL AS  
AN APPROPRIATE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE NATIONS OF THE  
WORLD IN THEIR INDIVIDUAL CAPACITY. THE 60 YEARS OF ILO  
HISTORY MAY HAVE LEFT IT ENCRUSTED WITH SOME OLD-  
FASHIONED PROCEDURES, AND ITS STRUCTURE MAY HAVE SOME  
OUTMODED CONCEPTS THAT ARE INSENSITIVE TO THE PRIDE AND  
PURPOSES OF OUR COUNTRIES OR THOSE OF THE DEVELOPING  
WORLD, BUT WE BELIEVE THERE IS MUCH IN THE ILO STRUCTURE  
THAT PRESERVES ITS CAPACITY TO BE A MAJOR FACTOR IN THE  
PURSUIT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE FOR THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

5. THE PLENARY CONFERENCE, THE GOVERNING BODY, AND THE  
SECRETARIAT ARE THE MAIN STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS OF THE ILO.  
THE CONFERENCE IS THE INSTRUMENT FOR THE MEMBER NATIONS  
TO MAKE KNOWN THEIR COLLECTIVE OR INDIVIDUAL JUDGMENTS.  
THERE IS NOT A MAJOR DECISION OF THE ILO THAT THE  
CONFERENCE CANNOT AFFECT -- EXCEPT THE CHOICE OF THE  
DIRECTOR GENERAL AND WE BELIEVE THIS SHOULD BE CHANGED SO  
THAT THE CONFERENCE DOES HAVE A ROLE IN THIS CRUCIAL  
DECISION. BUT OTHERWISE, THE ACTIONS OF THE GOVERNING  
BODY AND THE SECRETARIAT ARE SUBJECT TO BROAD REVIEW  
AND AFFIRMATION BY THE CONFERENCE, AND ALL STATES ARE  
EQUAL IN THE PROCEDURES FOR VOTING.

6. THE GOVERNING BODY, HOWEVER, IS AN EXECUTIVE GROUP,  
CHARGED BY THE MEMBER STATES WITH A CONTINUING  
RESPONSIBILITY FOR MONITORING THE OPERATIONS OF THE  
SECRETARIAT AND ILO PROGRAMS. IT MUST BE SMALL ENOUGH  
TO MAKE ITS DELIBERATIONS EFFECTIVE AND REPRESENTATIVE  
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ENOUGH TO CAUSE ITS DECISIONS TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY.  
UNDER THE PRESENT CHARTER, 10 NATIONS DESIGNATED AS

"CHIEF INDUSTRIAL STATES" ARE PERMANENT, NON-ELECTED MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNING BODY. AT PRESENT, THE "CHIEF INDUSTRIAL STATES" ARE CHOSEN ON CRITERIA THAT INCLUDE A WEIGHTING OF 10PCT FOR A COUNTRY'S POPULATION, 40PCT FOR ITS GNP, AND 50PCT FOR ITS FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE ILO. THERE IS AN UNFAIRNESS IN THIS DESIGNATION THAT MANY G-77 COUNTRIES HAVE OBJECTED TO, AND MANY OF YOU HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT UNFAIRNESS AND HAVE WORKED TO FIND A MORE EQUITABLE FORMULATION. I WOULD SUGGEST, HOWEVER, IN PRINCIPLE, THAT THE CONTINUING PRESENCE OF THOSE COUNTRIES THAT REPRESENT DOMINANT POPULATION AND ECONOMIC CONCENTRATIONS IS NEITHER INCONSISTENT WITH DEMOCRACY NOR THE SUCCESSFUL FUTURE OF THE UN.

7. THE COUNTRIES OF THE COMMON MARKET HAVE WORKED DILIGENTLY TO DRAFT A PROPOSAL FOR SUBMISSION TO THE ILO WORKING GROUP ON STRUCTURE. THE G-77 HAVE INDICATED THAT UNLESS A PROPOSAL WAS FORTHCOMING FROM EITHER THE EC-9 OR THE IMEC COUNTRIES BEFORE FEBRUARY 6 ITS MEMBERS WOULD BE UNWILLING TO RESUME THE SESSIONS OF THE WORKING GROUP. PERHAPS IT IS NOT NECESSARY AT THIS POINT TO EXPRESS THE RESERVATIONS THAT MY GOVERNMENT HAS REGARDING THE EC-9 DRAFT PROPOSAL THAT HAS BEEN MADE AVAILABLE TO US FOR CONSIDERATION BUT IT SHOULD BE SAID THAT IN OUR JUDGMENT THE PROPOSAL MAY CAUSE ALARM AMONG THE AFRICAN NATIONS WHICH WILL ONLY BE QUIETED BY A FURTHER INCREASE ABOVE THE 46 GOVERNMENTAL MEMBERS ALREADY CONCEDED IN THE PROPOSAL. IT WILL CAUSE THE GOVERNING BODY TO BE A MINI-CONFERENCE RATHER THAN A REPRESENTATIVE EXECUTIVE BODY. WE BELIEVE IT WILL CREATE IRRISTIBLE PRESSURES IN THE NON-GOVERNMENTAL SECTORS TO INCREASE THE NUMBER OF THEIR DELEGATES, THEREBY DILUTING EVEN FURTHER THE FRAGILE PROPORTION OF THE IMEC REPRESENTATION.

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8. THE EC-9 PROPOSAL, HOWEVER, MAY HAVE THE SUBSTANTIVE CENTER OF A FORMULATION THAT CAN INDEED MAKE THE ILO AN EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION. IT ACCEPTS THE ASIAN CONCEPT OF REGIONS FOR THE DIVISION OF

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5245

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REPRESENTATIVES. LET US CONSIDER THE ACCEPTANCE OF THIS  
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CONCEPT. WHAT FOR EXAMPLE MIGHT THE GOVERNING BODY BE  
IF ITS GOVERNMENTAL REPRESENTATION IS KEPT AT 28 AND  
THAT NUMBER WAS DIVIDED EQUALLY AMONG THE FOUR REGIONS OF  
THE WORLD. EQUAL REPRESENTATION AMONG THE FOUR REGIONS  
WOULD SIMPLIFY THE SELECTION PROCESS AND WOULD SILENCE  
ANY DISRUPTING ARGUMENTS REGARDING THE NUMBER OF COUNTRIES  
AND HOW THEY SHOULD BE REPRESENTED. AS YOU KNOW, WE  
BELIEVE THAT THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE HAD PERMANENT  
REPRESENTATION IN THE PAST SHOULD CONTINUE AS MEMBERS OF

THE GOVERNING BODY, COUNTED AGAINST THEIR REGION IN THE ASSIGNMENT OF GB SEATS. THE ACCEPTANCE BY BOTH THE ASIAN AND THE EC-9 PROPOSALS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF "OBJECTIVE CRITERIA" TO ASSURE THE CONTINUING MEMBERSHIP OF CERTAIN STATES IN THE GOVERNING BODY IS AN ENCOURAGING BASIS TO BELIEVE THAT THE NECESSARY CONSENSUS FOR EQUITABLE REPRESENTATION CAN BE FOUND. THERE IS NO NEED FOR US TO BE APOLOGETIC IN SUGGESTING THAT THE ILO WOULD BE A STRONGER AND MORE EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATION IF THOSE NATIONS WHOSE POPULATION AND ECONOMIC POWER GIVE THEM A POSITION OF SIGNIFICANT INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY ARE MADE CONTINUING MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNING BODY. WE SHOULD BE ARGUING INSTEAD THAT WITHOUT THOSE COUNTRIES THE ILO WOULD BE INEFFECTIVE AND INCREASINGLY MEANINGLESS. THE IMEC COUNTRIES CONTRIBUTE ALMOST 80 OF THE ILO BUDGET. I WOULD URGE YOU TO KNOW THAT THE IMEC NEGOTIATING POSITION IS A STRONG ONE. YOUR WILLINGNESS TO CHANGE THE VETO POWER OF ARTICLE 36 IS A MAJOR CONCESSION TO THE G-77. THERE ARE MANY INDICATIONS, TOO, THAT THE G-77 WANT AN ACCOMMODATION. I URGE YOU NOT TO BEGIN THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH A PROPOSAL THAT COMPROMISES ANY IMEC INTEREST.

9. ALL OF US KNOW HOW COMPLICATED THE ISSUE OF STRUCTURE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TRULY IS. THE DISCUSSION TODAY IS CONCENTRATING ON ARTICLE 7 BUT OUR GENERAL CONCERNS EXTEND TO ARTICLE 17 AND 36 AS WELL AS TO QUESTIONS RELATING TO VOTING PROCEDURES AND THE COMPLIANCE MACHINERY. I APPRECIATE THE TIME AND ATTENTION YOU HAVE GIVEN MY COMMENTS BECAUSE THE RESOLUTION OF THE STRUCTURE ISSUE IS CRITICALLY IMPORTANT TO THE DECISION REGARDING THE AMERICAN RETURN TO MEMBERSHIP. THE CONCERNS THAT ALL OF US HAVE SHARED ABOUT THE TRENDS IN THE ILO MAY BE RESOLVED IN PART BY CONFRONTING THE ISSUE OF STRUCTURE IN TERMS OF THE PRINCIPLES AND CONCEPTS WHICH WILL MAKE THE ILO A STRONGER ORGANIZATION. OUR SUGGESTIONS ARE SUBMITTED FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION WITH THAT IN MIND. WE WOULD BE GLAD TO JOIN WITH YOU OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS IN SEEING WHETHER SOME COMMON POSITION COULD NOT BE ARRIVED AT WHICH WOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT OUR JOINT CONCERNS. END STATEMENT. VANDEN HEUVEL

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## Message Attributes

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